BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

The second Part OF ENGLANDS NEW-CHAINES DISCOVERED:

Or a ſad Repreſentation of the uncertain and dangerous condition of the COMMON-WEALTH:

Directed to the Supreame Authority of *England*, the Repreſentors of the People in Parliament aſſembled. By ſeverall wel-affected perſons inhabiting the City of *London*, *Weſtminſter*, the Borough of *Southwark*, *Hamblets*, and places adjacent, preſenters and approvers of the late large *Petition* of the Eleventh of *September*. 1648. All perſons who are aſſenting to this *Repreſentation*, are deſired to ſubſcribe it, and bring in their Subſcriptions to the Preſenters and Approvers of the foreſaid Petition of the 11 of *September*.

IF our hearts were not over-charged with the ſenſe of the preſent miſeries and approching dangers of the Nation, your ſinal regard to our late ſerious Apprehenſions, would have kept us ſilent; but the miſery, danger, and bondage threatned is ſo great, imminent, and apparent, that whilſt we have breath, and are not violently reſtrained, we cannot but ſpeak, and even cry aloud, until you hear us, or God be pleaſed otherwiſe to relieve us.

Nor ſhould you in reaſon be with-held from conſidering what we preſent you withall, through any ſtrangeneſſe that appeareth therein; For what was more incredible, than that a Parliament truſted by the people to deliver them from all kinds of oppreſſion, and who made ſo liberal effuſion of their blood, and waſte of their eſtates (upon pretence of doing thereof) ſhould yet ſo ſoon as they were in power, oppreſſe with the ſame kind of oppreſſions, which yet were true in the times of *Hollis* and *Stapletons* faction, and who, (as the King and Biſhops had done before) laboured for an Army to back and perpetuate them therein.

Nor were our Petitions then preſented (wherein we juſtly complained of thoſe oppreſſions, and fore-warned them of the danger enſuing) the leſſe conſiderable for their burning them by the hand of the common hangman; Nor the Petitioners the more blame-worthy for being reproched with the names of Atheiſts, Hereticks, and ſeditious Sectaries (as now with Jeſuite, and Leveller) Aſperſions being the known marks of corrupt Stateſ-men, and uſually working no other effect, but the diſcredit of the Aſperſers. Yet were there many that believed their reports of us, and they were as impatient with us, for our taxing them with their wicked and pernicious deſignes, as others are now for our preſuming to detect them, who are ſo high in preſent power and reputation: But it is now evident, that it is poſſible for our Phyſitians to bring us to a more dangerous condition then they found us.

And though experience hath made us wofully ſenſible, that nothing is more dangerous to any people then the bearing with unjuſt, covetous, or ambitious practiſes in thoſe they truſt; Yet did we forbear to interpoſe our judgements, or to oppoſe thoſe mens deſignes, untill they had made a large progreſſe toward our bondage, and endeavoured to graſp the power of the Army into their hands, thereby to enforce their Tyranny upon us; inſomuch that it was almoſt too late to give check to their wicked intentions; ſo unwilling were we to believe it poſſible for men who all along pretended liberty and redreſſe of grievances, to degenerate ſo ſoon into the groſſeſt Principles and practiſes of long ſetled Tyrannies.

And much more do our Conſciences bear us witneſſe of our backwardneſſe to believe any evil intentions in thoſe who not only were moſt vigorous and ſucceſsfull againſt the common enemy, but ſeemed ſo ſenſible of the injuſtice and treachery of that prevalent faction in Parliament, as to engage with the utmoſt of their might, as if they had really intended to deliver the Nation from that dangerous thraldome, ſo that we both durſt, and did many of us, venture our lives upon their fidelity; Yea ſo powerfull, perſwative, and contentfull were their firſt Engagements, Papers, and Remonſtrances, ſo fraught with ſelfe-denying Doctrines, tender regard to the peace of the Nation, and ſatisfaction to all intereſts; as even lulled all peaceable People into a ſound ſleep of ſecurity, caſting all their care upon the General Councel of the Army, as upon a People they thought could never have the face to decline either thoſe principles, or to neglect the performance of ſo many engagements, promiſes, and proteſtations, made as in the preſence of the al-ſeeing God, frequently calling upon him, the ſearcher of all hearts, to bear witneſſe of their integrity and ſincerity therein: Inſomuch that we (who alwayes with ſome witneſſe obſerved them) many times denyed our own underſtandings rather then we would draw haſty concluſions from evident teſtimonies of their defection.

But when after they had once ſleighted the Agitators, and diſcountenanced thoſe Officers and Souldiers, who firſt engaged againſt the deſtructive Votes of Parliament; ſuch as ſtood firme to their engagements at *New-market*, and *Triploe Heath*: when we ſaw they not only neglected them, but adhered to perſons ſent from Parliament and City, in thoſe corrupted times, and ſell immediately to plead for Negative Voices in the King, and Lords; checking and controulling thoſe that oppoſed: When we underſtood their General Councels (which according to their engagements ought to have conſiſted only in two ſelect Commiſſion Officers, and two private Souldiers, choſen by every Regiment, with ſuch General Officers as aſſented to the Engagement, and no other) were nevertheleſſe overgrown with Collonels, Lieutenant Collonels, Majors, and others, not choſen; and many of them diſſenters from the ſaid Engagement; and that ſome few eminent perſons preſum'd above meaſure therein, and in effect over awed and controuled their Councels: and that the contrivance of a Councel of State, was the great engine which thoſe Councels laboured to bring about: when we found them not only to Court the King, by kiſſing His hand, and the like, and that a correſpondency was held between Him and the General Officers, and Agents ſent to and fro continually, whereby they came to ſo neer a cloſe, as that their propoſals were not only received, but corrected and amended by the King, before they were ſent to the Houſe, till they became very conſiſtent with His ends and Prerogative: and thoſe Officers ſo engaged thereby, as to be moved to impatience towards any that ſpake a ſillable againſt this their trafique and entercourſe with Him: upon which likewiſe, they concluded an Agreement with the oppoſing Citizens of *London*, without ſo much as calling the Agitators to advize thereupon. Seeing, Hearing, and Underſtanding theſe things, no marvel if we were ſtaggered in our Beleefe of their integrity.

But that a perſon ſo deeply charged as the Earl of *Mancheſter*, and other grand ſelf-ſeekers of this Houſe ſhould be entertained with ſo great reſpect, and guarded to their places in Parliament, and that notwithſtanding the prevailing power of the Army, thoſe who had uſurpèd the Authority of the Houſe, and Voted a new War, were nevertheleſſe permitted to ſit and Vote there, and that contrary to the importunate deſires of the Agitators, and the Remonſtrance of the Army: and then one of the firſt fruits of this their conjunction was the paſſing of an Ordinance for Tythes, upon trebble dammages, which the corrupt Clergy had preſented (in the abſence of the Speaker) to *Pelhams* Parliament; and the burning of Mr. *Biddles* Book, by the Common Hangman; and impriſoning his perſon: and that notwithſtanding their glorious March through *London*, the prerogative Priſoners in the Tower, New-gate, and elſewhere, were utterly neglected, and the Councel of thoſe friends ſlighted, who had been inſtrumental, even to the loſſe of ſome, and the hazard of all their lives, to make an eaſie and unbloody paſſage for the Army into *Southwark* and the City. Upon obſervation of theſe and abundant more particulars, which we could enumerate, we concluded, that the Councels of the Army were ſteered as at their firſt engagement, by the ſelect perſons choſen thereunto, nor for the ends in that engagement expreſſed; but by ſome other powerfull and over-ruling influences, that intended other matters then were pretended, and that laboured by all poſſible meanes to convert the honeſt endeavours of good men in the Army, and elſe where, and the happy ſucceſſes God had bleſſed them withall, to the advantage of their Luſts, Pride, and Domination: And as time came on, it more and more appeared, that they intended meerly the eſtabliſhment of themſelves in power and greatneſſe, without any regard at all to the performance of their promiſes and engagements, or any reſpect or credit to the faith of the Army, or to the peace and proſperity of the Common-wealth, and that they walked by no rules or principles either of honeſty or conſcience; but (as meer polititians) were governed altogether by occaſion, and as they ſaw a poſſibility of making progreſs to their deſignes, which courſe of theirs, they ever termed a waiting upon providence, that with colour of Religion they might deceive the more ſecurely.

Now that this may appear no ſlander, we intreat that without partiality, their after proceedings may be throughly ſcan'd: as firſt, at *Kingſton* it was propoſed by the Agitators, friends of *London*, *Southwark*, and places adjacent, that the Tower, City, and Borough, might be ſecured by the wel-affected Inhabitants, and not by Souldiers, that ſo

trade

trade and traffique might be preſerved, which otherwiſe would be driven away (as it ſoon after proved) And that it was hoped that they intended not to ſecure any place by Souldiers, when the wel-affected Inhabitants were able to ſecure it. Which adviſe proceeded as well from our reſpects to the City and neighbour places, as upon fears of what we know to be the practice of other Tyrants (and therefore doubted would be exerciſed by thoſe) namely, the garriſoning great Towns, thereby to keep the people, as well in poverty, as in continuall awe and ſubjection.

Which adviſe, though aſſented unto by the Agitators, was yet rejected by the grand Officers, and a new Regiment raiſed, to the further charge of the Commou-wealth; the Propoſers themſelves being diſmiſſed with reproaches, and the Agitators thruſt out, and not permitted to obſerve how they were dealt withall.

At which time alſo its very remarkable with how much height of State they obſerved the King at *Hampton* Court, viſiting Him themſelves, and permitting thouſands of people daily to viſit Him, to kiſſe His hand, and to be Healed by Him, whereby His party in the City, and every where, were exceedingly animated, His Agents being as familiar at the Head-quarters, as at the Court. Then on a ſudden, when the Houſe complyed not with their purpoſes, in all haſte it was to be purged, and thereupon they publiſh a large Remonſtrance, *Auguſt* 18. ſtuffed with publique reaſons, to ſhew the juſtneſs and neceſſity thereof: but the Houſe again complying, through the ſight of their Remonſtrance, though no whit changed in reſpect of its corruption; and they finding, if it were purged, it would not be for their deſigne; they make nothing of their former reſolution, but continue it in its corrupt condition, and ſit with them themſelves.

Then they fall to work again about the King, and ſend the Propoſitions of *New-caſtle* to Him, when they knew, and were agreed He ſhould not ſign; in the mean time, they ſo wrought the King by fair promiſes, and hopes of reſtauration, as that He enclined much to countenance the Army, gave out words in their favour, and in His anſwer to the Houſe, preferd their Propoſals, before the Parliaments Propoſitions; in lieu thereof, the great ones of the Army themſelves, endeavoured the revival of a Treaty, and ſome of them in the Houſe, were very violent againſt motions of no more Addreſſe, and expreſſed it was the ſenſe of the Army that further Addreſſe ſhould be made, and that except they would make Addreſſes of another nature to the King, they could not promiſe them the aſſiſtance of the Army; and accordingly they take pains to work every man at the Head quarters; upon which, petitions were attempted in the Army, in favour of a Treaty, and ſome conſciencious, but weake people, were drawn to ſecond their deſign, with a Petition for a Perſonall Treaty, which they had ready at the Houſe dore.

Theſe ſtrange and myſterious proceedings, occaſion'd a new face for things in the Army, many of the Officers being much diſtaſted thereat, and whole Regiments chuſing new Agents to look after the publick, as fearing things were running head-long into a moſt dangerous condition: The far greater number of the Officers, would not by any means indure to here of the Armies compliance with the King, and the Agents finding all former engagements, promiſes, and Declarations broken, and utterly neglected, and the Common-wealth in danger of utter diſſolution, produce an *Agreement of the People, upon grounds of Common Right, for uniting of all unprejudiced people therein*; the great Officers very much oppoſe it a while, as having ſet up another intereſt: but ſeeing the ſame take with the Army, profeſſe *though at preſent their judgements could not ſo far cloſe with it, yet they would never oppoſe it.* Hereupon the whole frame of the deſign alters, and the matters in projection with them, were now to diſingage themſelves, and be rid of the King, and how likewiſe to diſcountenance and keep under the diſcerning party in the Army. In order to the firſt, they caſt about how to get the King into the Iſle of *Weight*, where they might both eaſier keep others from Him, and the more entirely poſſeſſe Him themſelves; and that He might with willingneſs be hurried thither, they work upon His fear; ſuggeſting to Him, that there was an intention in ſome violent perſons to murder Him, and perſwade Him to leave that in a letter, as the cauſe of His remove. To make which the more credible, they wrought Lieut. Col. *Hen. Lilburn* to aſperſe his brother *John* (who then ſtood in the way of the great men of the Army) with a baſe and abhorrid reſolution of being one that intended to murder the King; to the proof whereof they would never ſuffer the Aſperſers to be brought (though ſolicited thereunto by a Petition from divers wel-affected perſons) but inſteed thereof, for that perfidious ſervice, they advanced him to the government of *Tinmouth* Caſtle, above his brother *Robert*, where retaining the leven of his Apoſtacy, which the General Officers had laid in him, he ſuffered the reward of a perfidious traytor.

And though the General Officers enclined him to this revolt, themſelves, as well by their example, as by countenancing him in the beginning thereof; and though for the ſame he incurred the extream diſpleaſure of his Father, and Kindred, yet are both his Father and Kindred by the Officers themſelves and their Aſſociates aſperſed with the fact, as if tainted with guilt and contammination thereof.

Thus did they kill two birds with one ſtone, framing a Name for them which of all others is moſt diſtaſtefull to the People, and was therefore moſt likely to beget a belief of the pretended aſſaſſination.

Where (by the way) we deſire it may be obſerved, that notwithſtanding the word *Leveller* was framed and caſt upon all thoſe in the Army (or elſewhere) who are againſt any kind of Tyrannie, whether in King, Parliament, Army, Councel of State, &c. And though it was not ſo much as believed to concern thoſe upon whom they caſt it, the inventers having often profeſſed as much, yet have they both themſelves and by their inſtruments in-

dustriously propagated the same, and insinuated both this and other slanders of us into the hearts of all the easy and credulous people they could meet withall.

But to return, The King thus removed, they judge themselves at good leisure to deal with the Agreers for the People, and so suddainly violent they became in that work, that at the Rendezvous neer Ware, they shot a Souldier to death, for pursuing the ends of the Engagement at New-market, and for insisting upon the Agreement for the People: unworthily abused Major *Skot*, a Member of this House, sent him up a Prisoner, and accused him and Col. *Rainsborough* for appearing in behalf of the Agreement, and therewithall sent Col. *Ayres*, Major *Cobbet*, Capt. *Bray*, and many others after them prisoners to Windsor, where, as Parties, Judges, and Juries, the Officers did what they would against them, sentencing some to death, others to disgracefull punishments, restraining and releasing at pleasure, and with as much Arbitrarinesse as ever was in the world; and could not be disswaded, though Mr *Saltmarsh* and others bore full testimony against the cruelty and injustice thereof. Hereupon at the House they procured at once the imprisonment of five cordiall Citizens, for justifying the Agreement of the People, and requiring Justice for the bloud of the Souldier that was shot at Ware, disfranchized them, and under the notion of London Agents forbad their meetings. And when now they thought they had moulded and qualified the Army to their own bent, and had gratified their complying Officers, with the cruelty upon the Levellers (for so they have stiled all who have manifested any sense of Common Right) and had found that they could be nothing so great, rich, and potent, upon a close with the King, and that it would be impossible for them to hold either Officer or Souldier firm to them, in case of such composure. Hereupon utterly to frustrate his hopes that way, they prevail with the House to Vote no more Addresses; and so vanish away all their glorious flattery of the King and his Party, and their notorious dissimulation appeared, abusing thereby the Faith of the Army, and making it clear to all discerning men, that such as could so break with one sort of men, will make no Conscience of keeping faith with any.

Their next work was to new-mould the City, and make it theirs; for which purpose they brought some Regiments of Horse and Foot to *Whitehall* and the *Mews*, to the extreme discontent of the City, and provoke them further by keeping their Lord Mayor, and some of their Aldermen in the Tower, without admitting them to a Legal Trial, though upon Petitions and earnest Desires: At last they were referred to be tried by the Lords, contrary to the known Law of the Land; but their jurisdiction being disclaimed, after a while they were released without any Tr iall at all, their end being accomplisht, which was the terror of the City, and changing the Magistrates thereof, so as should best serve their designs.

About this time also they began to exercise their Marshall power over persons not of the Army, and did sentence Mr *William Thomson* to death at *Whitehall*. And then also they began to new model the Army, and for that end (though the new raised Regiment for the Tower was thought no burthen, yet upon pretence of easing the charge of the Commonwealth, the Life-Guard must be disbanded, because consisting of discerning men, faithfull to their Country and former promises; and many others of like principles were pickt out of every Regiment; the design being by weeding the choisest and best resolved men, to make the Army wholly mercinary, slavish, and the Executioners of a few mens lusts, and lawlesse pleasures.

All which those good men perceiving, and resolving thereupon not to be disbanded according to the Agreement at *New-market*, till the ends therein expressed were fully gained, they were enforced thereunto by Tyrannicall Sentences of Imprisonment and Death (though the Officers themselves had formerly refused to disband upon command of Parliament upon the same grounds and strength of the same Engagement: By all which tis evident, that according to the maxim of Politicians, they judge themselves loose, where other men are bound, and that all obligations are to them Transitory and Ceremoniall, and that indeed every thing is good and just only, as it is conducing to their corrupt and ambitious interests.

And thus the most hopefull opportunity that ever *England* had for the recovery of our Freedom, was spent and consumed, in such their uncertain staggering motions, and arbitrary, irrationall Proceedings, whereby all Parties became extreamly exasperated, as People that had been meerly mocked and cheated by fair promises, and under the most religious pretences, &c. Hereby the Army, that had but few months before been the joy and hope of all sorts of Rationall People, was made a by-word, a hissing, and a reproach to the whole Nation: insomuch that those (in hope of their large promises and protests in their Declarations) who thought nothing too precious for them, now grudged them their bread, and were ready to stone them in all places where they came; Trade fled, Poverty increased, and discontents abounded, till at length broke out such a flame as no time had ever seen before; and no doubt was the proper issue of such horrid delusions, ministring such matter for a generall Rising and Revolt, as all former policies could never attain to, and more threatning the ruine of the Nation, then all the former forces and stratagems of the enemies; and which is rightly to be imputed to the unjust, partiall and perfidious dealings of these men.

But when they saw what a strange predicament they had brought themselves into, and which they would never believe, till it was come upon them (no more then now they will) they had before manifested a greater obstinacy, then now they did a serious Repentance (which yet as the sequel proves, was but counterfeit) though (as God knoweth)

we

we were overjoyed to believe it reall: Acknowledging, with the greateſt expreſſions of ſorrow, that they had walked by corrupt, politick Principles; That they had been too blame in actings againſt honeſt men; That the name of Leveller, Jeſuite, or the like reproaches, ſhould never be more heard amongſt them; That if ever the Nation be happy, it muſt be by a conjunction in the Levellers principles, calling upon all, to lay by all Diſcontents, to forget and forgive, and to unite all againſt the Common Enemy, and promiſing with greateſt aſſeverations, That if God, upon our joint endeavors, ſhould be pleaſed to deliver us out of this Sea of danger, that they would never divide from juſt Principles, nor in the leaſt diſcountenance honeſt men as they had done, nor endeavour to ſet up a party, but caſt themſelves upon an *Agreement of the People* for the future ſettlement of the Peace of the Nation: But how and what performance they have made, that we ſhall intreat may be impartially obſerved in the enſuing ſtory: And for a full and timely proof of their relapſe, and Diſcovery of their diſſimulation; No ſooner had they (through Gods bleſſing, and the aſſiſtance of their reconciled friends) finiſhed their work at *Colcheſter*, but preſently they call to queſtion certain Perſons, that had appeared at St. *Albanes* in behalf of Captain *Reynalds*, chuſing rather to forſake the Service, then to be commanded by Captains that had been violent againſt them, that had drunk the Kings Health upon their knees, and profeſt they could rather fight againſt the Levellers then Cavaliers, and theſe (according to their old wont) they ſentenc'd to Death, and ſoon after releaſt them, as finding or ſuppoſing this kind of Diſcipline moſt effectuall, to the breaking and debaſing the ſpirits of the Engliſh.

And becauſe Col. *Rainsborough* had ever *oppoſed their unjuſt proceedings*, they withdraw him from the Army, by a plauſible, but only a Titular command at ſea, where by the ſtraitneſſe of his Commiſſion, he not having thereby the command of the Ships or Officers, he could neither reſtrain their Revolt, nor preſerve himſelf from being expulſed at the Seamans pleaſure out of that employment.

Then upon his return, the ruling Officers finding him as inflexible to their ends as formerly, they put him upon that dangerous and unhappy Service before *Pomfret* (notwithſtanding a Commander had been appointed thereunto by the Committee of *York*) whether he went with much reluctancy and diſcontent, as wondring at the Cauſe of his being deſign'd thither, and expreſſing as much to his Friends; his ſad ſoul preſaging the misfortune, which after befell him. But that which gives greateſt cauſe of grief and ſuſpect to his friends, is, that his Brother receives no furtherance, but rather all diſcouragement that may be in ſearching after, and proſecuting the cauſers of that ſo bloudy and inhumane a Butchery.

In the North, though during the Service and Neceſſities of the Army, the Levellers (as they are cal'd) were countenanced, and taken into the Boſom, who thereupon (forgetting all former affronts and diſreſpects) did liberally hazard their lives, without ſuſpicion of fraud and deluſion; Yet the Neceſſities being over, and the enemies ſubdued, they renew freſh diſgraces, and fall into a greater *Odium*, and contempt then ever.

Firſt, divers ſouldiers for petitioning in the behalf of Major *Reynolds*, that he might ſerve in the room of Major *Huntington*, were therfore rated, and threatned to have their ſkuls cut, and ſome of them ſtruck for ſo Petitioning; Major *John Cobit*, who with the extreameſt hazard had regain'd *Tinmouth Caſtle*, where his Superiour Commander had through the dangers thereof refuſed, was notwithſtanding rejected, and a Member of Parliament taken from his duty there, and contrary to the ſelf-denying Ordinance, made Governour thereof. Major *White*, who in all the deſperate ſervices in the North, had performed the duty both of Lieutenant Colonel, and Major both in the Generals Regiment, yet becauſe a conſtant man to his *Promiſes* and *Principles*, was refuſed the Lieutenant Colonelſhip, and a man of a more complying Spirit fetcht from another Regiment to officiate therein.

And this was the uſage not only to theſe Gentlemen, but to all others, whether Officers or Souldiers in North or South (for their Councels were one in both) that did retain a ſenſe and Reſolution to proſecute thoſe good things intimated in their former Engagements.

And as before, upon their firſt great ſucceſſe againſt the City, when now again it juſtly was expected they ſhould have made uſe of ſo notable and unexpected Bleſſings, to the benefit and advantage of the Commonwealth (as their late repentances, Promiſes and Pretences gave men cauſe to hope) the event proved, they intended another uſe thereof; for (having now ſubdued all their Enemies, they proceed with greater confidence to their former purpoſes, of making themſelves abſolute maſters over the Commonwealth, wherein there yet appeared one main obſtacle, and that was an unanimous and univerſall Reſolution in all Well-minded People (eſpecially in that numerous *PEOPLE* that concurred in the *PETITION* of the 11. of September, to center in an *Agreement of the People*; which if not evaded, it would be impoſſible for them) to go through with their Work: Hereupon again they cry out for Union, and employ their Agents to get meetings and Treaties with thoſe that were moſt forward for an Agreement; and contract with them to center in an Agreement, and that the matter of the Petition of the 11. of September, (as was deſired) ſhould be the ſubſtance of that Agreement: There being no other way then by this yielding in ſhew: to amaze this buſy, watchfull Party, and to keep them quiet, whilſt they went on with other pieces of their work.

For what elſe hath all the time ſpent thereabouts produced, but a meer abuſing, blinding and deluding all that cordially deſired the ſame, it being (before they left it) ſo obſcur'd and perplext in the ſenſe thereof, ſo ſhort of

what was intended, and so corrupted in many particulars, that those most loath'd it that most desir'd it; in the mean time, whilst they had fixt good mens eies and thoughts upon that Work, they secretly and swiftly prosecute their other Designs as *principall* in their *purposes*, wherein questionlesse they had not had the assistance of good men, but that it was verily believed in shew of driving on their own design, they were really and cordially producing a perfect and compleat *Agreement of the People*, as large both in grounds of Freedom, and redresse of grievances, as the Petition of the 11. of September, in the uttermost extent thereof did import.

Many of which Petitioners were not satisfied but that such an *Agreement of the People* might then have been obtained without any of those extraordinary, sudden and violent Courses lately taken, neither in bringing the Army to the City, breaking the House in pieces, or removing the King by such an extra-judiciall Proceedings, and Court of Justice, as had no place in the English Government, and did really foresee, there would be nothing but abuse in their pretence of an *Agreement of the People*: and that their own domination, in and by a Councel of State, was the main thing aimed at and intended.

The removing the King, the taking away the House of Lords, the overawing the House, and reducing it to that passe, that it is become but the Channel, through which is conveyed all the Decrees and Determinations of a private Councel of some few Officers, the erecting of their Court of Justice, and their Councel of State; The Voting of the People that Supreme Power, and this House the Supreme Authority: All these Particulars (though many of them in order to good ends, have been desired by Well affected People) are yet become (as they have managed them of sole conducement to their ends and intents, either by removing such as stood in the way between them and the Power, wealth, or command of the Commonwealth; or by actually possessing and investing them in the same.

And though all this was foreseen by us, yet so perswasive were their insinuations in the ears of many good and well-disposed People, both Souldiers and others, that they have been really carried away with the belief of them, and reliance upon them, and have thought they could not better imploy their time and abilities, then in affording them all furtherance and assistance that might be.

So that their only Fears remain upon our Discoveries, to prevent which they use means, that either we might not have opportunity to lay open their Treacheries and Hypocrisies, or not be believed if we did it.

In order to the first, They strictly stop the Presse; In order to the second, They blast us with all the Scandals and false Reports their Wit or Malice could invent against us; and so monstrously wicked have they been in this particular, that they have pry'd into all our Actions, made use of all our acquaintances, and friendly intimacies, and in conclusion have only produced such scandals, as have been customarily used by former Statesmen; and such, when scan'd and examined, contain both contrariety in themselves, and have not the least ground of Truth, as concerning us.

By these Arts are they now fastened in their Power, till either by opposition from the enemy, which they may well expect God will raise against them, as the deserved Recompence of their vile Apostacy; or by the weight and violence of their many Injustices (which in the wicked course they are in) must every day be multiplied, till they be thrown down from their usurped greatnesse.

They have already lost the Affections of all People, and are only supported by their present strength; but when once those good men that hold them up, shall perceive how instrumentall they are made, contrary to their intentions, in advancing a few lofty and imperious mens designs; and how easy it is for them to convert their abilities and power to better and more common ends expresst in their former engagements, and which the complaints of the aggrieved People, and their own understandings can furnish them withall, they will then lament that they have so long been out of the way, and set themselves with the utmost courage and resolution to free their distressed Country from the fears and Captivity it now groans under. They may talk of Freedom, but what freedom indeed is there so long as they stop the Presse, which is indeed, and hath been so accounted in all free Nations, the most essentiall part thereof, imploying an Apostate *Judas*, for Executioner therein; who hath been twice burnt in the hand a wretched fellow, that even the Bishops and Star-chamber would have sham'd to own. What freedom is there left, when honest and worthy Souldiers are sentenced and enforced to ride the horse with their faces reverst, and their swords broken over their heads for but Petitioning and presenting a Letter in justification of their liberty therein: if this be not a new way of breaking the spirits of the English, which *Strafford* and *Canterbury* never dreamt of, we know no difference of things. A tast also of Liberty of Conscience they have given us in the case of a worthy Member of your House; so as we may well judge what is like to follow, if their Reign continue, And as for Peace, whilst the supreme Officers of the Army are supreme in your House, in the Councel of State, and all in all in the generall Councel of the Army; when the martiall power is indeed supreme to the Civil Authority, what peace can be expected? we professe we see no councels tending to it, but hereof mighty and vast sums of money to be taxed upon the people *per mensem*, as if war were become the only trade, or as if the people were bound to mainrain Armies whether they have trade or no; yea, whether they have bread or no.

And as for the prosperity of the Nation, what one thing hath been done that tendeth to it? Nay, hath any thing been done since they were in power? but what increaseth the rancour, hatred and malice, which our late unhap-

py

py differences have begotten amongſt us, as if they had placed their happineſſe and ſecurity in the totall diviſion of the People, nothing being offered by them, that hath any face of reconcilement in it, nothing of chearfulneſſe or generall ſatisfaction, the mother of trade and plenty, that might take away the private remembrance and diſtinctions of parties, nothing indeed, but what tendeth to implacable bitterneſſe of ſpirit, the mother of confuſion, penury, and beggery.

Nay, what ſenſe of the heavy burdens of the People have they manifeſted of late? Hath it not been by their procurement that the Judges, their creatures have a thouſand a year allow'd to them above the ordinary fees? which were ever eſteemed a heavy oppreſſion in themſelves: Is there any abridgement of the charge, or length of time, in triall of cauſes? Are they toucht with the generall burthen of Tithes, that canker of induſtry and tillage? Or with that of Exciſe, which out of the bowels of labourers and poor people enriches the Uſurers, and other Caterpillars of the Common-wealth? Or what have they done to free Trade from the intolerable burden of Cuſtoms, except the ſetting freſh hungry flies, upon the old ſores of the People? What one materiall thing did they offer unto you in their late Petition, which you gave them ſo many thanks for, terming their deſires modeſt and diſcreet, when its evident by the contents, they did it only to ſtop the mouths of their Souldiers, and to amuſe them into a pleaſing dream, whilſt they go on with their deſign of abſolute domination: and which ſhould you in the leaſt oppoſe, you would finde their modeſty no more towards you, then towards your excluded Members. In the mean time, Where is their Charge againſt the Members? Or why finde they not who amongſt them have conferred Offices upon each other, and upon their Creatures and relations? Or who they were that gave ſuch large Donations of thouſands and hundreds by year, whilſt the Publique Faith is broken, and Families are ready to ſtarve, for emptying themſelves to ſerve the Publique neceſſities; Or why diſcountenance they not all thoſe who have betraied the truſt of Feofees for Biſhops and Delinquents Lands? and are become purchaſers themſelves of great Eſtates, for very few years purchaſes, the due value rightly conſidered: Or why blame they not the Lord chief Juſtice, and Lord chief Baron, for keeping their places, which were conferred on them (and the like on others) by this Houſe, when thoſe Members ſate there, they have excluded? Or why finde they not out thoſe perfidious perſons that have made no conſcience of breaking the Self denying Ordinance, and perſiſt therein? Or is the reaſon viſible why they have nothing to ſay againſt thoſe ſorts of men, namely, becauſe theſe are their own, and their Creatures caſes? O wretched *England*, that ſeeth and yet ſuffereth ſuch intollerable maſters! What can be expected from ſuch Officers, who frequently manifeſt a thirſt after the bloud of ſuch People and Souldiers, as the moſt active for the common Freedom, Peace, and Proſperity of the Common-wealth, and againſt whom they have nothing elſe to object? Or what can be expected from ſuch a Councel in the Army, as ſhall agree that the ſupream Authority ſhould be moved to make a Law, That that Councel of Officers may have Power to have, and put to death all ſuch perſons, though not of the Army, as they ſhould judge were diſturbers of the Army.

Certainly theſe things cannot but manifeſt unto you their very hearts, their inward purpoſes and intentions, repreſenting viſibly before you and all the World, the moſt dangerous condition, that ever yet this Nation hath been in: And if there be any Conſcience towards God or man to be found amongſt you, the whole ſinews and progreſſe of this our ſad Repreſentation is ſo fully known, and freſh in memory, that it is impoſſible, but it muſt work upon all amongſt you that are not Co-partners with them in their Deſign, or are not engaged (as the Lawyers are) in ſome corrupt intereſt.

But though this long betraied and miſerable Nation ſhould prove ſo unhappy, as that there ſhould not be one found amongſt you to own theſe known Truths, which yet ring in every mans ears, throughout the Land; but through fear, or otherwiſe reſpects, ſhould ſhut your eye, againſt the light; it ſhall be ſo far from inducing us to repent of what we have herein (or in our late Apprehenſions) expreſſed, and ſet before you, that we ſhall rejoyce above meaſure, that we have witneſſed to the Truth; and againſt all thoſe Deluſions, and perfidious Stratagems, laid by thoſe men to betray and enſlave the Common-wealth, to their own Pride, Ambition, Luſts, Covetouſneſſe and Domination, if not Dukeſhip, or Kingſhip; their Creatures diſcourſing of late, That the Power muſt be reduced to one: What their meaning is, time (if they be not hindred) will manifeſt: but the Premiſes duly weighed, doth evidence; what ere it be, it will be as bad, as poſſibly can be.

And as we ſhall not altogether doubt of the appearance of ſome in this Honourable Houſe, that will conſcionably perform that Supream Truſt which is really and eſſentially reſident in your integrity; What ever may be ſuggeſted to the contrary (it being not others treachery, nor anyes violence, that can diveſt you of that Authority:) but if you all ſhould fail therein, as God forbid, yet we ſhall not doubt, but that what we have here preſented and publiſhed, will open the eyes, and raiſe the hearts of ſo conſcionable a number of the Souldiers and people in all places, and make them ſo ſenſible of the bondage and danger threatned, as that theſe men, this Faction of Officers, ſhall never be able to go through with their wicked intentions.

It being an infinite ſhame that they ſhould be ſuffered to proceed ſo far therein, as they have done, there having been no party hitherto ſo inexcuſable; for it is poſſible, if not probable, that the King and his party might at firſt be induced to offend through errour of breeding, long cuſtome, and ſway of times (although that excuſe neither

him

him nor them) That Hollis, and that party, might at first be drawn into their violence, against people faithfull to the Common-wealth through an erroneous zeal against supposed Sectaries, and for uniformity in Presbytery (though that also but little extenuates their offence) but neither the one nor the other can be imagined to have transgressed against so evident light, nor against so many and great obligations of love, and great respects from the people as that party hath done: So that the intentions, and endeavours of these men, to enslave the Common-wealth, or their continuing of burthens, without any remorse at the dearnesse of food, and utter losse of trade, exceeds in the nature and measure of it, all the wickednesse of both the other parties put together.

And therefore upon due consideration of the premises and in utter detestation of their most perfidious and trecherous dealing with the Army, Parliament and Common-wealth; we doe in behalfe of our selves and all wel-minded people, here before this honourable House, as in the presence of Almighty God, protest against their breaking the Faith of the Army with all parties, their dissolving the Councel of the Agitators, and usurping a power of giving forth the sence of the Army to the Parliament and People, also against the shooting the Souldier to death at Ware, and their cruelties exercised on other persons, to the debasing of their spirits, and thereby new moulding of the Army to their own designs, then playing fast and loose with the King and his party, till they brought a new and dangerous war upon the Nation.

We also protest against their dissembled repentances, as in no measure satisfactory for so abominable offences: we also protest against all their late extraordinary Proceedings, in bringing the Army upon the City (to the ruine of trade) their breaking the House in pieces without charging the Members particularly: And then judging and taking away mens lives in an extraordinary way, or done for no other end, but to make way for their own absolute domination. We also protest against the Election and Establishment of those High-Courts of Justice, as unjust in themselves, and of dangerous prefidence in time to come; as likewise against the Councel of State, and putting some of themselves therein contrary to their owne Agreement: We also protest against all other the like meetings of those Officers, that on Thursday the 2. of February last, voted for so bloudy a Law, as to hang whom they should judge disturbed the Army (as having no power either by such Councels, either to give the sence of the Army, or to judge any person not of the Army, or to doe any thing in reference to the Common-wealth, more then what any, so many fifty Souldiers or persons not of the Army, have power, and may lawfully doe: though all the generall Officers were continually present) these we protest against, as things unjust, abominable and dangerous, and declare that our present not seeking for justice or relief therein, shall be no bar against us for the future, when we shall see cause to seek for Justice and relief therein.

And for the truth of our Judgements herein: We should with gladnesse submit unto the determinations of this Honourable House, were not their High hand as yet held over you. And therefore we are enforced to appeal to a new Representive equally chosen in such like manner, as is expresst in our serious apprehentions lately presented unto you, and doe likewise desire that you would encourage the Army in chusing a Representative, consisting of select Persons, chosen by every Regiment of the Army, as at the first at New-market: and shall humbly pray, that you will not any more receive the result of a few Officers, as the sence of the Army; the Officers of an Army having no more power to make Laws for an Army, then the Officers of the Common-wealth to make Laws for the People; both of them being constituted only for the Discipline and Government thereof. We hope you will proceed to further an Agreement of the People, according to our late desires in our serious apprehensions, and also speedily take in hand and effect those other things therein desired, tending very much to the abrogation of the bondage intended.

Thus have we once more unburdened our hearts before you, and faithfully discharged our duties to our Country, giving timely warning of the most dangerous thraldome and misery that ever threatned this much wasted Nation, and much we doubt not, will by wisdome mixt with some honest resolutions, be timely prevented: which we shall exceedingly rejoyce to see, that so after so many years of sorrow, the People may at length be comforted, and the Land enjoy her rest, and that all the world may be enforced to confesse, That there is a reward for the righteous, and that there is a God that judgeth the Earth.

FINIS.

This was writt by John Lilburne (at last it came out by his meanes), and he owned it who with Overton a Coachman and 4. more were cast in prison for it and proclaimed traytors in the end of March. 1649. Wednesday March. 28. anno 1649. L. Col. Joh. Lilburne, Mr. Larner, Mr. Overton Mr. Lawrence Mr. Walwin were by order from the Councell of state apprehended and brought Prisoners to Whitehall